Wilson's One-Man War—*Willard Shelton*

THE *Nation*

March 3, 1951

Crisis in the French Schools

How Rome Fights Public Education

BY PAUL BLANSHARD

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New Hope in Heart Failure

BY LEONARD ENGEL

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The "World": In Memoriam

BY HOWARD CUSHMAN

*

DiSalle's Worst Headache

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

MAR 5 1951

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Two Important Features

THE NEW PHASE: UNDECLARED WAR

By Edgar Snow

IN ONE of the most important single articles that *The Nation* has published in recent months, Edgar Snow, internationally famous reporter and expert on the Far East, analyzes Joseph Stalin's recent "interview" with *Pravda* and finds in it answers to such vital questions of war and peace as:

Does Russia intend to start a World War this year?
How will rearming of the West influence Russian policy?
Where do we go from "positions of strength"?
Can Russia attain its goals without using its own army against the West?
What are the prospects for a settlement in Asia?

✳

JAPAN: ALLY OR FRANKENSTEIN MONSTER?

By Robert P. Martin

LESS THAN five years after the promulgation of the Japanese constitution, which General MacArthur praised for its permanent renunciation of "the threat or use of force as a means for settling disputes" and its prohibition of a Japanese armed establishment in the future, American occupation authorities in Tokyo are urging the re-creation of a Japanese army. Robert P. Martin, CBS correspondent in Tokyo, reports on the reaction of the Japanese people to this proposal, and considers the advantages and dangers of this shift in American policy.

Next Week in THE *Nation*

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 172 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MARCH 3, 1951 NUMBER 9

The Shape of Things

SENATOR FULBRIGHT'S COMMITTEE THAT IS investigating the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was correct in interpreting as a "counter-attack" President Truman's sudden request for the letters the RFC had received from Congressmen with respect to loans. If the committee carries out its implied promise to publish these letters, despite the White House admission that they reveal no "illegality," the ultimate effect should be to strengthen the hand of the investigators. Whether or not illegal acts have been committed, it is obvious from the committee's interim reports that the RFC has been subjected to political and personal pressures with regard to some of its loans, if not to its broad policies. It may be that the committee went out of its way to include in its most recent report the name of Donald S. Dawson, a White House administrative assistant, although it piously protested that it expressed "no opinion as to the propriety" of his alleged influence within the RFC. But enough has been revealed of the operations of professional influence peddlers to bring the lending agency into disrepute. The President did not help matters by first describing the Fulbright report as "asinine" and then proposing a reorganization of the RFC identical in its main outlines with that proposed by the committee. In the present circumstances a mere reorganization is no guaranty that the RFC will resume its proper function as an independent agency, operating without fear or favor. The farther the Fulbright committee can go in exposing political maneuvering and the use of pressure, whether by Congressmen or the Administration or lawyers close to the RFC management, the greater the chance that a reorganized agency can regain public confidence. Mr. Dawson would be wise to reconsider his earlier decision and voluntarily appear before the committee to reply to the inuendoes in its report. We hope that the committee, so anxious last week to obtain a duplicate of the file of Congressional letters collected for the President, will not falter in its decision to make the letters public. The more the people can learn about the RFC the better.

✶

MR. CHURCHILL'S LATEST DEPTH CHARGE may prove to be the most deadly of the series with which he has been trying to sink the half-submerged Labor government. His protest against the planned appointment of an American admiral to head the Atlantic Pact naval forces has as strong an appeal to left-wingers, who resent the way in which the United States is "throwing its weight around," as to the Blimps of the far right. The tradition of Britain's naval supremacy is still very potent, and even though in these days its fleet is admittedly inferior in size to that of the United States, every Briton is convinced that it is superior in all other respects. "To command the western waters," says the right-wing *Daily Mail* editorially, "is Britain's responsibility and right, won in blood sacrifice and sea superiority against all comers since the Normans." "Instinct as well as judgment rebels," echoes the liberal *News Chronicle*, "when it is proposed that a significant part of our naval strength should be controlled by a commander who is not British." Attempting to defend the appointment of Admiral William M. Fechteler, Prime Minister Attlee floundered rather unhappily, obviously aware that the sentiment of the Commons was against him. He explained that the matter had been discussed in the Atlantic Treaty Organization and that "no power has an absolute right to dictate its views as to any appointment." But he failed to dispose of the suspicion that the United States had in fact dictated this particular decision, and under heavy pressure he was forced to agree to "look into this matter again." If he is unable to get any satisfaction from Washington, Churchill may use the incident as a basis for another no-confidence vote. But that would involve the opposition leader in rather tricky waters, for he would have to avoid direct criticism of Washington while seeking to show that if he were in power, he would exert greater influence there than Mr. Attlee.

✶

BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY BASED ON THE idea of step-by-step progress toward self-government has just passed a test in the Gold Coast and now faces another and more difficult one. The Gold Coast is the wealthiest and most advanced of Britain's African possessions, and constant agitation for radical reform has gone on there since the war. The demand has been most effectively crystallized by the Convention People's Party, whose principal plank is "self-government now," and which has been held responsible for several serious outbreaks of rioting. Nevertheless, the Colonial Office persevered with its plans, and last year a new constitution was adopted in accordance with the recommendations of a committee composed entirely of Africans. This pro-

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The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

vided for a large measure of parliamentary government, subject to some powers reserved to the British governor, and for adult manhood suffrage in the towns and the more advanced southern territories of the colony. Elections recently held show conclusively that fears of pressure or intimidation by the British administration were groundless. Thirty-four of the thirty-eight elected members of the new Parliament are adherents of the Convention People's Party whose leader, Kwami Nkrumah, with five of his cohorts, was in prison for sedition. This party can lay claim to a number of seats on the executive council. Kwami Nkrumah, who has now been released from prison, and his colleagues will therefore be in a position either to sabotage the new constitution or to use it as a stepping-stone to still greater measures of self-government. The British theory is that responsibility will soften militant nationalism. It is a bold experiment, especially in view of Nkrumah's demagogic tendencies, but the risk of attempting to maintain the status quo would be still greater.

*

HOPES FOR A SOLUTION OF THE UNITED Nations labor difficulties increased over the week-end as a result of the attention given by the Secretariat chiefs to the complaints raised by the personnel. It will be recalled that the dispute started when a half-dozen employees were dismissed under disturbing circumstances. Three were officers of the U. N. Staff Association, and the question of the right of the personnel to act through the association in defense of their interests—in other words, to regard it as regular labor union—immediately became the predominant issue. At the same time it was suspected that political motives had played some part in the firings. Especially since the Korean war began, members of the Secretariat had become aware of a kind of political surveillance over those who were critical of the course followed by the United Nations under American pressure. Rumors of secret investigations, of telephones tapped, of mail interfered with had begun to create an uneasy atmosphere, which was intensified when three of the nine officers of the U. N. Staff Association were dismissed. At a meeting of the association last Thursday, attended by nine hundred members, a compromise proposal reconciling the views of the administration and of the staff was overwhelmingly approved. It is to be hoped that Secretary General Lie, if only to honor his past as a labor leader, will throw the weight of his authority behind the demands of the staff for greater independence and security.

*

WITH DEFENSE PRODUCTION RISING AND the man-power pool shrinking, large-scale employers of farm labor are again on a mad man-hunting safari. As was forecast in *The Nation* more than a year ago, Cali-

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fornia farmers want to import 6,000 Filipinos from Hawaii. They offer to lend these workers the price of one-way transportation to California and to pay wages at "the prevailing rate." The catch, of course, is that the prevailing rate will be whatever the employers decide to pay the Filipinos after they have arrived. If the monotonous history of such schemes is repeated, the rate will be considerably less than the wages paid resident farm workers. Reports from Texas and other areas indicate that, with the controls on cotton production removed, farmers this year will be "planting cotton from fence row to fence row." Spokesmen for the growers have already demanded that the government import 500,000 Puerto Rican, Hawaiian, and Mexican farm workers—almost exactly the number of Mexican nationals who were "deported" last year. The California Range Association, meanwhile, is extremely annoyed that the McCarran act has interfered with its plans to import 250 Basque shepherds, most of whom are members of the Spanish Falangist Party. It will be recalled that last year President Truman and Governor Earl Warren of California appointed commissions "to study and report on" the perennial problem of migratory farm labor. The reports of both commissions will now be shelved "for the duration of the emergency," as dozens of similar reports have been shelved since the turn of the century.

Return to Scholasticism?

EXCERPTS from a recently published report of the New York City Board of Education, bearing the dry-as-dust title "Source Materials in Curriculum Development," have been seized upon by Roman Catholic educators as one more bit of evidence to support their church's official stand that public education is godless, atheistic, and false. Specifically, a committee composed of members of the Education Department of Fordham University has protested against a passage that praises the "current philosophy of education, which has discarded scholastic philosophy and its concepts of complete knowledge and an unchangeable society in favor of a democratic and scientific view of man and society . . ." Dr. William H. Bristow, who supervised the publication of the pamphlet, denied that it was an attack on any religion, and referred the critics to a standard reference book which defines scholasticism as ". . . a general form of knowing divorced from any subject matter; it is logic-chopping without objective in experience; making distinctions definitions, divisions, and classifications for the mere sake of making them."

The good doctor may have thought that by supplying this unattractive description of medieval thinking he would terminate the incipient controversy, for surely not even a Catholic educator would wish to defend so archaic a theory. The response from the outraged seminarians was brief: "Scholastic philosophy is a system of principles subscribed to by the Roman Catholic church." Therefore, was the unmistakable implication, *any* criticism constitutes lèse majesté. At this writing, distribution of the booklet has been halted while the offending sentences are "restudied"; Dr. Bristow is sticking to his guns; press comment, for the time being, has ended.

It would be surprising indeed if this were to close the incident, for Catholic power in New York City, as this magazine can readily affirm, is very great, and the church's war against public education is unending. (See Paul Blanshard's article on page 201 of this issue.) Considering attendance at public schools sinful for Catholic children, the church has always pushed the building of parochial schools. But since many of its youthful communicants have no choice, Catholic teachers, principals, and supervisors in the public schools are exhorted to apply the tests of their religion in dealing with teaching materials and in preparing administrative procedures, and diocesan officials have never been reserved about attacking any technique of the public schools which differed in its approach from that approved by the church. As a result, the line between church and state, with regard to public education, has been all but obliterated in many communities where the number of Catholic students is sizable.

Perhaps the simplest solution would be to follow the suggestion made in these pages last week in discussing the question of censorship of movies. Rather than subject ourselves to recurring fights with the hierarchy over the curriculum and teaching methods of the public schools, why not submit all matters concerning education to the local bishop for his prior approval? We would, to be sure, be relinquishing the invaluable treasure of truly free education, but in the light of what is happening in a covert fashion, in too many places, it might inspire greater honesty. And then it might be pleasant to know in advance what to expect instead of being forced to wait until the district Chancellery has spoken.

[For answer see page 196]

EAST T... Johnson City, Tennessee

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Sulphuric Diplomacy

London, February 22

DIPLOMATIC correspondents had difficulty in explaining why the British delegation at the U. N. collapsed at the last moment and voted for branding Communist China an aggressor. On the previous Thursday anxious Britons, eager to see one more attempt at negotiations, were assured that this was also the government's desire. But when the resolution came up on Monday, the promised rearguard action against American insistence had evaporated.

"I smell sulphur," said one famous government economist cryptically. He would not explain at the time. Since then it has emerged that Britain's shortage of sulphur, cotton, and other raw materials greatly hampered its ability to maneuver against the United States.

The raw-materials shortage has already caused two important Cabinet Ministers to cross the Atlantic and may send a third. Hugh Gaitskell, Chancellor of the Exchequer, went to Washington to discuss it last September. The subject was high on Mr. Attlee's agenda when he flew to Washington in December. And Harold Wilson, President of the Board of Trade, would probably be on his knees in Washington now if the government's narrow margin in the House of Commons were larger.

The shortage of sulphur, above all, is forcing government experts to admit that the expansion of British productivity may be cut in half in 1951. As Hugh Gaitskell underlined in his revealing speech in the House of Commons on February 15, Britain's ability to obtain raw materials "is the most important factor in determining the success or failure of our effort to sustain a great defense program while preserving the basic strength of our economy. To the average citizen sulphur suggests old-style matches or the "brimstone and treacle" that used to be given for coughs. But as the industrial engineer knows, sulphur and its derivative, sulphuric acid, are widely used in the manufacture of iron and steel, rayon, paints, dyestuffs, chemicals, and in oil refining.

In his Commons speech Mr. Gaitskell made clear what the difficulty has been:

> Approximately 90 per cent of the world's export of sulphur comes from the United States. About two and a half years ago the American sulphur producer intimated that because of the way in which their reserves were running out, they could not see their way clear to provide more sulphur for acid manufacture than would be required for plants then operating or in course of erection. . . . But no suggestion was made until June, 1950, that they would be unable to meet requirements within the limit imposed. We imposed cuts accordingly. Unfortunately, in December last the American government felt that they had to institute export controls for sulphur in order to conserve their natural resources of this material.

By early December Britain's sulphur stocks had dropped 20,000 tons, and the Minister of Defense, Emanuel Shinwell, was saying that "it might not be possible to fulfil our commitments for the defenses in the West, and we might find ourselves in a situation where unemployment might emerge." In Mr. Attlee's December 14 report to Parliament on his Washington talks he made it clear that one of his chief reasons for going was to make Mr. Truman realize Britain's precarious raw-material situation.

> An aspect [of economic questions] to which we devoted much attention was the supply and utilization of our raw materials. There is already heavy pressure on certain raw materials, and we have been feeling a great deal of anxiety about our supplies. . . . In the course of our discussions we pointed out how vital this question was to the United Kingdom, whose economy is based on the import of raw materials and food and the export of finished goods to pay for them. . . . On the immediate position we stated that the United Kingdom was faced with critical shortages which were likely to interfere with our production at once, notably zinc and sulphur.

In response to Mr. Attlee's entreaties, the United States agreed to send an emergency shipment of 7,500 tons of sulphur in December and to deliver about 20,000 tons in January. Full consideration of Britain's needs was promised in 1951 allocations. But a recent article by the well-informed parliamentary correspondent of the *Financial Times* said that British officials feel the United States has not fulfilled the promises made by the "highest quarters"—presumably President Truman—in December. And Mr. Gaitskell declared in the Commons:

> The allocation made to us involved a cut of 25 per cent on the already reduced rate of consumption in force during the latter half of 1950 and on that planned for 1951. If we can obtain no increase in supplies, I must tell the House that we face very serious consequences in a number of essential industries. . . . I can only hope that as a result of the meeting of the [raw materials] committee in Washington it will be found possible to release to us, for the time being, and until alternative methods of production of sulphuric acid are available, a larger export allocation from the United States."

It is not suggested that Britain voted with the United States at the U. N. to get more sulphur. But certainly to have a considerable segment of Britain's industry dependent on allocations doled out by Washington is not conducive to even a semi-independent foreign policy. And Britain is not the only West European industrial nation dependent chiefly on America for sulphur.

ANDREW ROTH

Answer to Who's Who?—Henry Wallace, Andrei Vishinsky

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Wilson's One-Man War

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, February 24

IN HIS letter of February 20 to the United Labor Policy Committee, Charles E. Wilson said that "charges, counter-charges, and recriminations" might obscure the objectives of the mobilization program and "dismay and alarm" the people. That is perfectly true, and the consequences could be grim. But one wonders whether Wilson realizes that his own dictatorial tactics provoked labor's revolt and that if labor had not felt it must protest, some other group would soon have challenged the way he has exercised his vast grant of power. It may, indeed, be asked whether his usefulness has not been destroyed.

Starting as a boy in the shipping room of General Electric, Wilson climbed to the presidency. He is recognized as a first-class production man, and obviously he made no serious mistakes which might have lost him the favor of corporation policy-makers. Yet in less than two months in Washington he has driven labor leaders to fury, incurred the enmity of able and experienced people in the old-line federal agencies, been rebuked by the farm organizations for pointedly ignoring them, and displayed such breezy self-confidence that careful reporters have written of his "bull-it through" attitude and his "arrogance."

When he was asked early in his regime who would handle man-power problems, he tapped himself on the chest and said, "I will." Asked what he planned to do about farm prices and the problems created by the parity formula, he said he would tackle them in a day or two, and gave the impression that he thought they could be settled by a decision in his office. After further questioning he admitted that Congressional action was required and that terrific conflicting pressures would make a solution difficult. When a small group of reporters asked whether he was really not planning to include a labor leader among his top advisers, he naively remarked that he would be glad to do so if someone would suggest a man of ability. Apparently he did not value the special skills a man needs to build a million-member union, administer its affairs, conduct its bargaining, calculate nicely the use of pressure, hold the union together against all the centrifugal forces threatening to split it apart. Men of ability, he seemed to assume, were the men he knew in banking and industry, men who had mastered the techniques described in Burnham's "The Managerial Revolution."

Presumably the labor dispute will eventually be patched up, although the union leaders received no assurance of a satisfactory compromise in conferences with Eric Johnston or in an angry meeting with Wilson. But even if a compromise is worked out, labor's confidence in Wilson will not be easily restored. The union leaders saw him tolerate an effort to freeze wages in advance of any promise of effective price controls, with no assurance that inequities would be considered, with no machinery set up to settle disputes. They saw the representatives of industry refuse to accept machinery comparable to that used in wage disputes during World War II. Moreover, General Electric's labor-relations staff, in a weekly news letter circulated to company foremen, has mocked labor's demand for recognition in the mobilization agencies, attacked federal statutes protecting workers, and complained that in 1942-45 the War Labor Board granted too many of the unions' demands. Mr. Wilson is no longer connected with G. E., but he appointed the labor-relations director, L. E. Boulware, who still runs things there. Last August, while Wilson was in control of the company, General Electric—according to the business magazine, *Forbes*, in its issue of January 1—"lost much of its standing in the labor-relations field" through "unfortunate handling" of a strike and a "haughty attitude which almost ruined years of work."

As much as specific acts it was a "haughty attitude" that provoked the labor revolt. If Wilson's manner toward the union leaders has not been openly contemptuous, it has at least been impatient and brusque. When he did appoint a labor advisory committee a month ago, he chose its members without consulting the unions, and revisions had to be made. When the committee suggested that it meet him twice a month, Wilson said he thought once a month was often enough. When he belatedly offered to appoint a labor leader to a high post in his agency—in a letter dated February 15 but not postmarked until 5 p. m. February 16, just before the union spokesmen quit the Wage Stabilization Board—his signature was rubber-stamped. These are trivia, perhaps, but together they caused anger to mount.

THE old-line agencies may be the next to rebel, or to join in a hostile cabal. In disregarding labor's protests against his direct operation of man-power controls, Wilson stepped on the toes of Secretary of Labor Tobin and Assistant Defense Secretary Anna Rosenberg. Other able and experienced people in the government—among them Leon Keyserling, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers—have been consulted only when Wilson has run into trouble.

He is now inviting the same kind of explosion in farm groups that he has already experienced from labor. He must either duck the issue of food prices, abandoning effective wage control, or try to develop an equitable farm program with the advice and consent of the farm-bloc leaders. Three organizations this week pointed out that there is no farmers' spokesman in the Defense Mobilization Office. Does Wilson think that he and his small coterie of specialists from the banking and in-

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dustrial community can handle this political hot potato alone? If he recognizes the difficulties, why did he not move promptly to get the high-level and practical advisers who could help him?

As a private individual Wilson may be, as some say, a gentle and modest man. But in his official capacity he has lunged at every obstacle with hardfisted ruthlessness. He began by demanding, and getting, an unprecedented grant of power from the President, "including but not limited to" control of production, procurement, manpower, stabilization, and transport. He has acted in every instance as if he intended to stretch the terms of this mandate to the utmost. But in our democracy the clashes of interest between groups arise from deep-lying economic and political realities, and the necessary adjustments can be worked out only through mutual understanding and voluntary consent. A defense-mobilization chief who unnecessarily alienates the leaders of 15,000,000 wage-earners has made an extraordinarily bad start.

How Europe Looks at Asia

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

AMERICANS may think that Europe is old and decrepit, and compared with the United States like a Model-T Ford beside a gleaming 1951 Cadillac, that it has no industrial initiative, no will to work or fight. But they cannot deny that Europeans retain their power of analysis. Americans may be interested, therefore, in how Europeans specializing in Far Eastern problems look at Asia. The summary which follows reflects the views expressed in current articles and comments in the Continental press, both moderate and left.

Discussion has naturally focused on China, especially since the advance of the United Nations forces to the borders of Manchuria drew Communist China into the war in Korea. In a country like France, conscious of its mistakes and burdens in Indo-China, the attitude may be influenced by the government's position or by patriotic sentiment, but even in France, and much more in countries without colonial commitments, it is generally acknowledged that China has become a great power and must be treated as such.

To imagine that this immense country, freed of the overlordship of the West, full of confidence in its new-found strength, hardened by thirty years of continuous warfare, with the vigor and élan of a revolutionary regime recently come to power, could ever be reconquered for the colonial interests with the aid of Chiang Kai-shek and his Formosan army seems to the average European the height of madness. The progress of socialism in China is accepted, and no chance of stopping it is seen. The position of Mao Tse-tung is considered impregnable, his strength derived from three facts whose tremendous influence cannot be questioned. First, China, having become a great power, is not subject to the control of any other nation but is master of its own destiny. Second, China's rise to the status of a great power has coincided with its adoption of socialism and is being carried out with all the enthusiasm and energy that are engendered by a successful revolution. Third, everything that is happening in China conforms to the general trend in Asia. In the opinion of the best-informed Europeans, therefore, it is ridiculous to think that the Peking government can be overthrown by sending against it the 300,000 men that Chiang now commands or by contributing vast sums to what remains of the discredited Nationalist regime.

The old relationship between Europe and Asia was upset a long time ago. Historians differ about the precise moment when the new phase began. Some say it was inaugurated in 1905, with the first defeat of a European power, czarist Russia, by an Asiatic nation, Japan. Others place the turning point in 1929—and that is my view.

What happened in 1929 that had such an impact on Asia? In this year the Soviet Union launched its first Five-Year Plan. (I was in Moscow at the time and met there some of the leading personalities of present-day China.) In all parts of the world peoples which had depended for their subsistence on the crumbs from the table of the great powers that exploited them were aroused by Russia's example. They saw what a backward country could accomplish by organizing its own capacities and depending on its own resources; they saw that by making superhuman efforts such a country could get along without foreign aid. People outside America want their own, not the American, way of life—a fact too often forgotten in this country.

A new Asia is emerging, whose potentialities can be rightly assayed only in a long historical perspective. The process will be different in different places. In some parts of Asia the parallel aspirations for national and economic independence will manifest themselves more quickly than in others. But these temporary contradictions do not compromise the diagnosis. Nor should its accuracy be questioned because India—whose political structure is of course different from Communist China's—in a moment of distress must ask the West for wheat. Nor does the thesis of Asian self-dependence conflict with the proposed plan for economic cooperation, with comprehensive trade treaties, between East and West, along the lines advocated by Gunnar Myrdal. Such a plan, as I have often suggested, offers the best way to reduce the present tension and provide an outlet for Western capital.

When the idea of planning as a means of achieving independence is introduced into Asiatic thinking, it

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comes into conflict—as Tibor Mende says in the liberal French monthly *Esprit*—with the principle of free enterprise, and thus with the dominant concept of America. M. Mende takes up the case of the Filipinos, and after a lengthy examination of the Bell Report, which in his opinion proves the failure of free enterprise as applied to an Asian country, concludes that "if the United States takes account [of what is happening] and acts accordingly, it will be forced to sanction in Asia the kind of socialist economic planning which in America is considered the supreme heresy." However, no evidence of any such intention is found in the decision to brand Communist China an aggressor or in the growing demand by a powerful section of the American right to reinstate the Chiang regime, which in the opinion of these European experts is dead for keeps.

New Hope in Heart Failure

BY LEONARD ENGEL

A GLANCE at the obituary page of a daily newspaper furnishes abundant evidence that coronary thrombosis—the formation of a blood clot in the arteries of the heart muscle—is one of the outstanding medical problems. Coronary thrombosis is responsible for more deaths in the United States than any other single cause, except perhaps high blood pressure, and while it occurs most frequently among men and women past sixty years of age, it also strikes down active men in their forties and fifties—for some unknown reason, women under sixty are not often affected. Since the average age of the population is increasing, coronary thrombosis is likely to remain a leading cause of death. Two recent developments, however, offer a measure of hope. The first, a new method of treatment, promises to save a third of those stricken. The second, the discovery of an unusual class of substances in the blood of persons with coronary thrombosis or with one of several other related disorders, may throw light on how the stage is set for the catastrophe.

The promising new method of treatment is the use of drugs which reduce the coagulating property of blood. These anti-coagulants do not dissolve thrombi (clots) once they have formed, but they minimize the formation of new ones and greatly reduce the tendency of thrombi to break up into emboli (daughter clots) which may be carried through the bloodstream to the arteries serving the lungs, where they can cause a fatal block. The drugs' effects are of great value, for the majority of people survive the first thrombus and are usually carried off by a subsequent one or a lung embolism.

Heparin, one of the anti-coagulants, was found in liver—it has since been extracted from other organs as well—in 1916 by a second-year medical student, Jay McLean, in the laboratory of the great Johns Hopkins physiologist, William H. Howell. It remained essentially a laboratory curiosity until the late 1930's, when a Canadian, C. H. Best, the co-discoverer of insulin, carried out a systematic study of its effects on animals and thus paved the way for its use in medicine. The second anti-coagulant, dicumarol, was discovered a short time later after some spectacular biochemical sleuthing. Agricultural researchers in Alberta and North Dakota had previously traced a costly hemorrhagic disease of cattle to spoiled sweet-clover hay. With the assistance of an enthusiastic group of graduate students and young instructors, Karl Paul Link of the University of Wisconsin finally identified the cause of the disease as an anti-coagulant substance formed during spoilage from coumarin, the chemical that gives new-mown sweet-clover hay its characteristic fragrance.

THE experience of the next several years demonstrated that both heparin and dicumarol could be extremely useful in a wide variety of serious disorders. Swedish physicians, who were the first to use anti-coagulants on a large scale, found, for example, that injections of heparin in the mother for several days after the delivery of a child almost entirely eliminated "milk leg"—the formation of a clot in a leg vein—one of the common hazards of childbirth. Heparin proved equally effective in minimizing venous thrombosis, which follows about one of every hundred major operations and is a big contributor to post-operative mortality rates. American doctors obtained similar results with dicumarol. With its aid the incidence of milk leg in the obstetrical wards of Mercy Hospital, Baltimore, was cut from .48 to .06 per cent. Another group of physicians at the Mayo Clinic used dicumarol in 1,686 surgical cases, and instead of the 58 deaths from the thrombo-embolic complications that might have been expected, there was only one.

Anti-coagulant therapy for coronary thrombosis received probably its most valuable test three years ago in a carefully controlled study carried on in sixteen leading hospitals under the sponsorship of the American Heart Association and the United States Public Health Service. Of 1,031 patients with coronary thrombosis, half were given the usual treatment and half the usual treatment

LEONARD ENGEL writes frequently for The Nation *on new developments in science.*

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plus anti-coagulants. The death rate among those treated with anti-coagulants was only two-thirds as high as that among the others.

Despite their obvious power to save lives, anti-coagulants have still to come into general use, largely because of certain practical difficulties. Heparin is expensive; since its effects last only a few hours, injections have to be repeated frequently; painful sores may develop at the points of injection. Dicumarol is cheap enough and is given by mouth. Its effects, however, vary widely from patient to patient and, indeed, in the same patient from day to day; dosage schedules, consequently, cannot be standardized. In order to avoid provoking a hemorrhage, it is necessary to check the coagulability of the blood frequently. This involves a time-consuming procedure, "prothrombin time determination," which few hospitals are staffed to perform, and which few patients can pay for. One of the best hospitals in the country, Peter Bent Brigham Hospital of Boston, made the experiment of using its regular staff instead of specially trained personnel to administer anti-coagulants to several hundred coronary patients. There were no accidental hemorrhages, but—probably because doses were too small, through an excess of caution—there was no drop in the death rate either.

Some of these difficulties are being overcome. A number of improved anti-coagulants, including a longer effective heparin preparation and a new dicumarol derivative, tromexan, as well as several synthetics, have been developed and are being introduced into practice. Even more important, the prothrombin time test has been simplified by the preparation of ready-made test reagents. With their aid the test can now be performed by any properly trained laboratory technician, and hospital technicians are getting the needed training under a nation-wide Public Health Service program. In time most hospitals will be able to undertake routine use of anti-coagulants.

THE long-term effects of administering anti-coagulants in cases of coronary thrombosis will not be known for some years. The problem, however, does not permit holding back until all the answers are in. While it is doubtful that coronary thrombosis is becoming more frequent in younger age groups, as is widely supposed—the disease was first recognized less than forty years ago, and doctors are still learning to diagnose it—it claims some 200,000 lives annually in this country, and the toll is rising. Thus anti-coagulants may grant at least a temporary reprieve to 60,000 persons or more a year.

In the meantime a real clue toward an understanding of the disease has turned up in the laboratories of the University of California. The formation of coronary thrombi is almost always preceded by narrowing of the coronary arteries by a form of arteriosclerosis, known as atherosclerosis, in which plaques of fatty material are deposited in the arteries. The fatty deposits alone are capable of causing a fatal plugging of the heart arteries. Thrombi are found, however, in the coronary arteries of most persons who die of coronary-artery block and are doubtless the immediate cause of death. Atherosclerosis paves the way for clotting by impeding the blood flow.

It has been known for several decades that the fat-like substance in atherosclerotic deposits is cholesterol, a prominent element of the blood. A few years ago it was suggested that an excess of cholesterol in the blood was responsible for the fatty deposits in the arteries. The trouble with this thesis was that many people with a quite large amount of cholesterol in the blood lived to a ripe old age without developing atherosclerosis, and that many who evidenced marked degeneration of the arteries early in life had a normal or even less than normal amount. The contradiction was not resolved until last year, when John W. Gofman and his associates at the University of California found that the cholesterol in the fatty plaques is bound up with a special chemical configuration, and that molecules of the same type are present in the blood of virtually all persons with atherosclerosis. Thus it is not cholesterol but cholestrol in a special form that seems to be associated with atherosclerosis and its complications.

Dr. Gofman's discovery has led a number of doctors and other individuals to leap to large conclusions. None are warranted so far. For example, when Dr. Gofman also found his unusual molecules in the blood of persons with no sign of atherosclerosis, it was said that these persons would soon develop it and that Dr. Gofman had discovered a simple diagnostic test for disease of the arteries. This may be true, but no one will know for five or ten years. Of more immediate moment, we are being advised to eat less milk, butter, whole-milk cheese, egg yolks, organ meats, and other foods relatively high in cholesterol as a means of avoiding artery disease. Low-cholestrerol diets have been tried many times, however, without any evident effect on atherosclerosis beyond what might be expected, in a disease often associated with overweight, from reducing the food intake. In persons of normal weight, moreover, low-cholesterol diets may do some harm, for they are deficient in protein, calcium, and other important nutrients. In any case, cholesterol is produced in the body as well as obtained from food.

The chances are that the unusual molecules found by Dr. Gofman arise from a defect in body chemistry. At present the nature of the defect is unknown, although a link with the sex hormones is suspected because of the relative immunity of younger women to atherosclerosis. The cholesterol defect, in any event, is not the whole story in disease of the coronary arteries. Psychological and emotional factors certainly play a significant

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part; the coronary arteries are supplied with nerves and are probably narrowed and widened by nervous influences. A third possible factor is the ceaseless bending and stretching to which the coronary arteries are subjected by the movements of the heart muscle; no other tissues in the body receive such wear and tear. Nevertheless, Dr. Gofman's work is hopeful and important, for it has revealed one of the elements in atherosclerotic deposits, a piece of information which is essential to finding out how they get into the coronary arteries.

The Vatican Versus the Public Schools

BY PAUL BLANSHARD

III. Crisis in French Schools

Paris

ALTHOUGH the European battle-line in the war between the Vatican and public education runs all the way from Dublin to Warsaw, the most interesting sectors are concentrated in the west, especially in France, where the Vatican is attempting to erase the defeat it met in 1905 when France adopted the separation of church and state as a national policy.

The struggle in France is significant for Americans because it affords so many parallels with the American experience. France is nominally a Catholic nation, but it is not certain that Frenchmen are in practice any more Catholic than Americans; some Catholic writers have estimated that not more than one Frenchman in five ever goes near his church except for baptism, marriage, and burial. The United States, with 18 per cent of its population nominally Catholic, is comparable to France with respect to Catholic power. And like the United States, France is still holding the line against public expenditures for Catholic schools. But the struggle in France has reached a more critical stage.

The issue of government support for Catholic schools is being revived at the present time in France partly because the hierarchy feels that the atmosphere is more favorable to the expansion of Catholic power than it has been for forty years. Before World War I French political leaders were usually anti-clerical. Anti-clericalism meant cultural freedom, respect for science, and intellectual integrity. Most Frenchmen were proud that they had achieved emancipation from Vatican control in the long struggle which had begun with the laws of 1881 and 1886 instituting neutral public schools and had culminated in the church-state legislation of 1905, which forbade the control of schools by religious orders and freed the public treasury from levies for priestly salaries.

PAUL BLANSHARD, author of "American Freedom and Catholic Power," recently returned from a year in Europe. In previous articles he has described the struggle between the Vatican and public education in Italy and the Netherlands. An account of the situation in Belgium will appear soon and conclude the series.

Since World War I the tide has swung gradually in the opposite direction. Today French political leaders avoid any criticism of Vatican policy. The downright anti-clericalism of Georges Clemenceau has given place to the pious conformity of such good Catholic leaders of the Popular Republican Movement (M. R. P.) as Robert Schuman and Georges Bidault. Among the explanations given for this shift in French opinion are the intense fear of communism and the traditional resurgence of religious faith in time of war, but probably the fundamental reason is that the Catholic church has stayed on the job year in and year out in every parish in France, whereas the anti-clerical crusaders have come and gone.

It should be remembered also that Vichy gave the Vatican a new lease on life in France from 1940 to 1944. Pétain, with Vatican encouragement, created in conquered France a virtual clerical-fascist state, and one of his most important innovations was the granting of public money to Catholic schools in defiance of the laws of the Third Republic. The Fourth Republic has returned to the principle of the separation of church and state, but its leaders are having a desperate time maintaining the purity of that principle.

FRANCE does not permit any church to teach religion in the public schools or to display religious symbols in classrooms. The public-school system offers free, neutral education to the children of all faiths. As in the United States, the government says to the Catholic hierarchy: "You are free to establish your own school system if it meets certain minimum requirements of the state, but if you establish a competing system of your own, you must not expect the French people to pay for it." As in the United States also, the government "inspection" of Catholic schools is farcical. Upper Catholic schools are not inspected at all, and elementary schools are under only nominal supervision.

The Vatican's formula for dealing with such a situation is rigid. French public schools are "godless" schools because they exclude Catholic religious teaching, and it is the duty of the French hierarchy to conduct a continuous campaign against them. The hierarchy is exerting all its political and religious power to keep Catholic children

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out of the French schools and to win direct or indirect financial aid from the government for its own educational system. Its methods are similar to those used in the United States but more extreme. Mothers are directed, not advised, to keep their children away from public schools on pain of the denial of absolution in the confessional—a practice sanctioned by canon law and a special ruling of the Holy Office. In some of the most Catholic sections of France—Maine et Loire, Vendée, Deux Sèvres, Brittany, and Normandy—the priests are strong enough to obtain employment preferences for graduates of Catholic schools. In several Catholic districts the public schools are almost non-existent, and when they do exist, their classrooms are only half full.

The bishops and priests in these regions are very bold in appealing for legal or illegal action against the public school in behalf of their own school system. Discussing the 1948 school crisis in France in such centers as Vendée and Brittany, a writer of the National Catholic Welfare Conference of the United States described the "active protest by the Catholic people in these regions, manifesting itself in public demonstrations, refusal to pay taxes on entertainments and fairs held to support Christian schools, and finally by the strike of municipal authorities." Tax strikes have been encouraged by Catholic leaders to force government contributions to Catholic schools.

Last May, according to Michael Clark in the New York *Times*, Bishop Antoine Marie Cazaux of Lucon, speaking at a public meeting of his followers, "urged his listeners to suspend payment of taxes until their demands [for public money for Catholic schools] had been met." Such defiance of the French state is by no means exceptional here. The French clergy teach that the moral right of the church to control education is superior to that of the state, and it is a short step from this authoritarian principle to official defiance. The Bishop of Lucon was not openly rebuked by either the Vatican or any French cardinal. The government induced him to withdraw his order for a tax strike after a private conference with church leaders.

How successful has the church been in keeping its children out of public schools? It has been very successful in some regions, and much more successful in the upper than in the elementary schools. About 43 per cent of the students attending French upper schools today—seven to thirteen years old—are enrolled in private schools, and at least 80 per cent of these private schools are Catholic schools. In the elementary grades only about 18 per cent of the students are in private schools. There has been no great shift in the proportion in recent years. Assuming that all private schools are Catholic schools, an enrolment of 18 per cent of the population in private schools cannot be considered evidence of great clerical power in a nation where the priests consistently teach that it is a mortal sin to attend public schools. The figures seem to bear out the contention that not more than one-fifth of the French people are practicing Catholics. (These statistics do not include Alsace-Lorraine, which is almost wholly Catholic and by a special dispensation gets full government grants for Catholic schools.)

THE danger in the situation is not so much in the present extent of Catholic educational power as in the fact that the Catholic schools are in a position to gain at the expense of the public schools. Accommodations in the public schools are already inadequate, and the government, with its enormous military expenditures, cannot afford to build schools fast enough to meet the needs of the growing population. In consequence French children in many districts must go to a Catholic school or none at all. A few years ago France was held up as a frightful example of declining population; today the nation is growing by almost one million persons a year, and next year there will be an extra, supplementary demand for 150,000 new desks in public classrooms, beyond the normal increase. The government's 135-billion-franc educational budget looks large on paper, but it is far from being adequate to the national needs.

The Catholic hierarchy is taking full advantage of this emergency by bringing as many surplus children as possible into its own school system and by stressing the argument that the church is entitled to public contributions because it is meeting a national crisis. In its propaganda the Catholic school is described as *l'école libre* and the government school as the state school, with the implication that it is "controlled." Actually tuition in the French Catholic schools is not free, the teachers have very limited academic freedom, and their policies are completely controlled from above by the same kind of authoritarian machinery that has developed in the American parochial schools. Yet the power of suggestive language is such that the undemocratic features of the system are quite effectively masked by the constant use of the word "free." This verbal deceit should be a warning to defenders of public schools in the United States, where the phrase "freedom of education" is being successfully used by Catholic spokesmen to sanction special privileges for private schools.

The success of the Catholic hierarchy's drive for public funds for its own school system will depend on the composition of the next French Parliament—and the elections will be held this year. In the present Parliament, which was chosen before De Gaulle had organized his R. P. F. movement, the Communists, holding 32 per cent of the seats, the Socialists, with about 16 per cent, and the Radical Socialists, with 8 per cent, could be counted on to vote for measures limiting the use of public educational funds to public schools. That makes a total of 56 per cent of the National Assembly, and an

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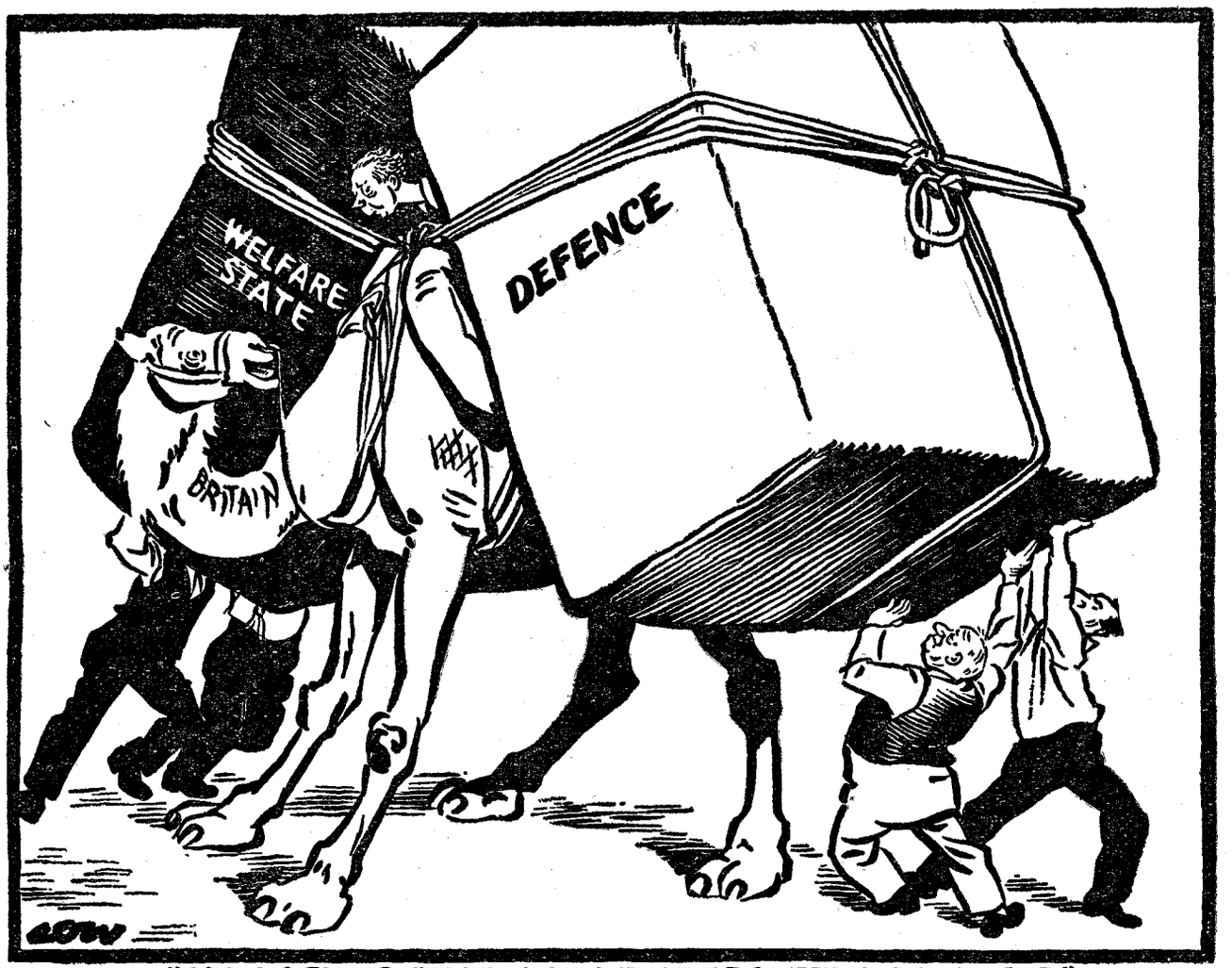
additional 4 per cent could be gathered from minor parties. Opposed to this hypothetical 60 per cent strength in Parliament is a loosely organized pro-Catholic bloc which includes the smaller right-wing parties and, most important of all, the party of Schuman and Bidault, the M. R. P. The Communists, Socialists, and Radical Socialists could save the public schools at any time if they would unite, but at present the Communists and Socialists have almost nothing in common except their refusal to submit to Vatican cultural control. On the other hand, a relatively small increase in the size of the pro-Catholic bloc might break the republican tradition of the separation of church and state.

THE crisis will come to a head within a year, and it seems fairly certain that the Vatican will not win an outright victory immediately. The principle of the separation of church and state is still strong among the people, and no French government in the near future is likely to challenge it directly. From the political point of view the safer course for the rightist elements in the government is to challenge the principle indirectly. Already the outline of a possible "compromise" is in view which would give the Catholic hierarchy what it demands without formally destroying church-state separation. The scheme was revealed in June, 1948, when the Minister of the Family in the Schuman government of that period, Mme Poinso-Chapuis, was authorized by decree to dispense government subsidies to needy families to compensate them for the cost of sending their children to Catholic schools. These subsidies fitted in neatly with the French system of allowances, under which the head of a family receives contributions from the government according to the number of his dependent children. And what could be more logical than such payments at a time when the public schools are overcrowded?

The Socialists realized the danger that the Poinso-Chapuis plan would be the entering wedge for a Catholic education-aid program and brought on a government crisis so that it would not be put into operation. Today the plan is being held on ice, ready for possible use if Catholic pressure becomes stronger. De Gaulle has gone farther and proposed that all French education be supported by a family-allowance system which would give educational grants to parents for their children and permit the parents to pass on the funds to Catholic as well



"ALL I ASK IS THAT YOU GET IT PROPERLY BALANCED"

London *Daily Herald*

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as public schools. The result would be a system like that attained by the Catholic hierarchy in Ontario, where the educational taxes of Catholic parents can be diverted on request to the Catholic schools. While the French hierarchy would be delighted to see it set up in France, there does not seem to be any truth in the report that to gain that end the Vatican will shift its loyalties from the M. R. P. to De Gaulle.

In the meantime the present Pleven government is trying desperately to reach a solution of the school problem by discussion. It has appointed a Commission Scolaire, headed by M. Paul-Boncours and including some of the foremost intellectuals in the country, to examine the whole question of financial support for religious schools. The commission's proposals will probably be a major issue in the next national election. It is easy to guess that they will represent a slight concession to Catholic power, heavily sugar-coated with the verbiage of French freedom. But it is also easy to guess that such a compromise cannot satisfy either the Vatican or the left, since the ultimate issue is whether the Vatican or the French people will control the national culture.

The "World": In Memoriam

BY HOWARD CUSHMAN

TWENTY years ago this week a calamity occurred in New York journalism. It was recorded at first hand in the *World* of February 27, 1931, the last edition of a great newspaper—I have at hand a brittle, yellowed copy. The name is still carried on the triple-barreled masthead of the *World-Telegram and Sun*, but the tradition died when the presses ceased rolling in the early morning hours of that exceedingly black Friday midway in the Hoover Administration. After forty-eight years of fighting journalism the *World* had been scuttled by Scripps-Howard and the heirs of Joseph Pulitzer.

The shock of the newspaper's passing was deeply felt by the 2,867 employees of the *World*, the *Evening World*, and the *Sunday World*. It registered almost as intensely with working newspapermen throughout the nation and with all men and women of good-will concerned about the assaults of privilege and corruption and bigotry. Allan Nevins wrote later that old subscribers "admitted that they read that last issue, once they had overcome their sense of incredulity, with swimming eyes." Why was it that this newspaper's demise affected its readers as personally as the passing of a great national leader?

Surely one answer is that the *World*, of all American journals of our time, possessed a living personality which quickly identified itself with the peculiarly mixed audience it served. This personality, or perhaps "character" is a better word, had developed over the years to make the morning newspaper—the evening and Sunday editions were never in the same class—the champion of the plain people and the spokesman of liberal democratic thought and at the same time the darling of the intellectuals and sophisticates; it was not only the gadfly of politics and government but frequently a hilarious, impious sideshow. Deeper below the surface was the fact that the *World*, for all its mistakes and frailties, lived up to its profession as a newspaper engaged in a ceaseless war on privilege.

World readers will recall the familiar dedication that appeared in a box at the top of the editorial columns each morning. The words are Joseph Pulitzer's:

> An institution that should always fight for progress and reform, never tolerate injustice or corruption, always fight demagogues of all parties, never belong to any party, always oppose privileged classes and public plunderers, never lack sympathy with the poor, always remain devoted to the public welfare, never be satisfied with merely printing news, always be drastically independent, never be afraid to attack wrong, whether by predatory plutocracy or predatory poverty.

The family of *World* readers believed that the paper fulfilled the Pulitzer ideal as nearly as any daily paper could. And many observers of the journalistic scene today believe that in the two decades since 1931 no newspaper of influence has come anywhere near the *World's* achievement. There are journals of high purpose and integrity, of frequent leadership in a good cause, but none can match the old *World's* sure social instinct, its impatience with privilege and contempt of intolerance, its merciless digging, and its fearless if raucous presentation of the seamy facts of public life. The newspaper published beneath the gold dome on Park Row carried on one crusade after another. The reader, never quite certain that the *World* would this time come out on top, shared in the excitement.

There was harrowing uncertainty in the Pulitzer Building in the closing days of February, 1931. Rumors of the impending sale, credited by everyone but the staff,

HOWARD CUSHMAN was a reporter and feature writer on the morning World *during the newspaper's last year. He has since worked on various other New York papers.*

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had been in the air for weeks. Nevertheless, the actual announcement of the hearing before Surrogate Foley, scheduled for Tuesday, February 24, came as a bombshell. The *World's* fate was settled in the peculiar surroundings of a surrogate's court because of the provisions of Joseph Pulitzer's will, which left the newspaper as a public trust to be administered by the Pulitzer sons as trustees but never to be sold by them. The sale to Scripps-Howard for $5,000,000, already in completed contract form on January 31, was conditioned upon the Surrogate's permission to break the Pulitzer will. The argument of Ralph, Joseph, and Herbert Pulitzer, which prevailed with Surrogate Foley, was simply that the *World* newspapers had lost substantial sums in the past several years and the downward trend was accelerating; continuance of the newspapers would dissipate the trust to the detriment of the Pulitzer estate.

Three days elapsed before the Foley decision was announced in the early hours of Friday morning, days during which an almost unbearable emotional tension was built up as frantic attempts were made to save the paper. Offers from Paul Block and from J. David Stern, the heroic effort of *World* employees to obtain backing for cooperative ownership, all were turned down perforce by the Pulitzer sons, already committed to the agreement with Roy Howard. For three days a bewildered, hopeless, sleepless staff got out the newspaper; then, after the last edition had been put to bed, they staged a maudlin wake in a Beekman Street speakeasy. (The drinks were on the house.)

JOSEPH PULITZER, who bought the *World* in 1883 from Jay Gould, died twenty years before the death of his papers. Stricken by blindness in 1887 and a prey to extreme bodily and nervous ills the remainder of his life, Pulitzer was an absentee editor and publisher, but he governed the *World's* policy, watched over its crusades, harried its editors, determined its very style and presentation, as directly as if he were enthroned in the gold dome of the Pulitzer Building—which he entered but a few times and never saw. From 1911 until his death in 1923, Frank I. Cobb, the brilliant Pulitzer-trained editor, carried the tradition along in all its vitality. Walter Lippmann was Cobb's successor. But the impetus of Pulitzer the founder was slackening in the hands of his sons. The dénouement was inevitable, whoever was responsible.

The achievements of the paper under Joseph Pulitzer are now largely forgotten, but they were mighty in their day. The *World* not only performed such diverting journalistic feats as completing a popular subscription to provide a base for the Statue of Liberty, sending Nellie Bly around the world in seventy-two days, and abolishing tolls on the new Brooklyn Bridge, but took up issues and causes in a way which made it a journal to be reckoned with. Less than a year after Pulitzer bought it the *World* proclaimed its championship of Grover Cleveland and grew to national stature by electing a President in the rowdy campaign against Blaine in 1884. Eleven years later it opposed Cleveland and a rising tide of jingoism in regard to the Venezuela-British Guiana boundary dispute, talking common sense and peace, averting almost certain war between the United States and Great Britain. The *World* again forced Cleveland's hand in the nineties when it prevented private handling of a government bond issue by a Morgan syndicate, urged the issue's flotation by popular subscription, and headed the list of subscribers by taking $1,000,000, thus instituting a democratic reform in federal financing.

Pulitzer's *World*, after publishing, exclusively, a startling array of secret documents, forced the legislative investigation of life-insurance companies that smashed a number of lofty reputations, procured the passage of laws to end insurance lobbying and legislative corruption, and sent Charles Evans Hughes to the Capitol in Albany. When the Panama Canal was built, the *World* exposed the dealings between the United States and Panama, including the sordid details of the creation of the republic. President Theodore Roosevelt struck back with a blistering libel suit which ended in a court victory for the *World* and a guaranty of freedom from federal prosecution for the American press.

In 1912 and 1916 the *World* beat the drums for the nomination and election of Woodrow Wilson, though it criticized him for lack of vigor in opposing the Eighteenth Amendment. It went all out for Al Smith in 1928 and for the wet plank in his platform that contributed to his defeat. It exposed conditions that brought reorganization of the New Haven Railroad, unmasked the Ku Klux Klan, smashed the peonage system in Florida. Always it was the bitter foe of Tammany. Right down to its last year the *World* made news, and initiated reform—by uncovering the receivership racket in federal courts, the City Trust Company scandal, the Cotter-Butte Mining Company bankruptcy, the tax-shark ring, bail-bond fixing, and, its last scoop, the disappearance of Judge Crater.

It was a great newspaper to the end—this *World* of F. P. A. and Deems Taylor and Frank Sullivan and Heywood Broun, of Hunneker and Balderston and Bolitho, of Stallings and Anderson, of the Spewacks, Ollie Garrett, Dudley Nichols, Mankiewicz, and Pringle, of Woollcott and Rollin Kirby, of Herbert Bayard Swope and Jim Barrett and Allan Nevins and James M. Cain. If you imagine the old *World* is not missed, think of the injustice, the discrimination, the bigotry, the corruption that have flourished in the twenty years since 1931 and of how few campaigns have been launched against them and fought through to a soul-stirring conclusion. New York still needs that *World*!

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Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

DiSalle's Worst Headache

THE price-control section of last year's Defense Production Act prohibited the setting of ceilings on farm products so long as they sold either below their parity price or below their top level between May 24 and June 24, 1950, whichever was higher. Since the majority of foods, high-priced as they seem to the housewife, are still below parity, this provision is responsible for a very mushy spot in the general freeze. Free from controls, prices of eggs, poultry, pork, wheat, vegetables, and other commodities are moving up steadily. If all farm products rise to parity, Price Stabilizer DiSalle has said, our food bills will go up another 5 per cent. That would boost the cost-of-living index about 2 per cent and certainly add to the pressure for wage adjustment.

Small wonder, then, that the special protection given to farmers by the Defense Production Act has been the subject of widespread criticism. Mr. DiSalle is evidently very much troubled and has indicated that he may ask Congress to untie his hands by revising the law. "Parity," he said to a group of farm leaders at Des Moines on February 16, "does not and cannot mean privileges. . . . If the concept interferes with efforts to secure economic stability, we shall have no other recourse than to recommend its modification."

Brave words! But I fear that if Mr. DiSalle tries to make them good he will bruise his knuckles on the granite of the farm bloc. The big agricultural organizations and their supporters on Capitol Hill are certain to fight to the bitter end any threat to the parity concept—the sacred myth of farm economics. What is more, they are likely to resist strongly the imposition of ceilings even on products which are way over parity. When the prices are rising, the farm bloc becomes a stout exponent of laissez faire: it believes in government interference only when the trend is downward.

Let us consider the case of cotton, for which the parity price on January 15 was 32.98 cents a pound, while the market price was over 45 cents, 50 per cent above a year ago and a record high since the cotton famine of Civil War days. Clearly cotton is legally subject to control, and it was, in fact, covered by the freezing order of January 25. However, the order exempted actual producers of cotton and applied only to the merchants and manufacturers, who were assigned temporary ceilings at the highest prices they had charged during the base period, December 19 to January 25. Since there are thousands of middlemen dealing in hundreds of grades of cotton, this led to considerable confusion. Moreover, the creation of innumerable different ceilings made for an impossible situation in the futures market, where everyone in the trade hedges his sales and purchases. Consequently, the various cotton exchanges suspended trading on January 26 and are still closed.

Meanwhile the Office of Price Stabilization has been considering fixed ceilings, applicable to all sellers, on each type and grade of baled cotton, averaging about 45 cents a pound. This plan was no sooner mooted than the cotton group in Congress appealed directly to the President to exempt baled cotton from any controls. All that is needed, they argued, is to introduce ceilings at the manufacturing level, the theory being that this will discourage mill-owners from bidding up the price of their raw material. Curiously enough, the textile industry supports this proposal, provided of course that it is protected by an escalator clause which will allow it to raise prices of yarn and cloth as raw-material costs increase.

Secretary of Agriculture Brannan experienced defeat at the hands of the cotton lobby last year when he sought to cut down exports sharply. Protesting that this step artificially restricted prices, the planters forced him to raise the export quota, originally fixed at 2,000,000 bales through March 31, 1951, to 3,496,000. With domestic consumption running at a very high level, this means that the carry-over will be close to the danger level when the new crop year starts on August 1. A bumper harvest is therefore an urgent necessity, and Mr. Brannan, who has set a 16,000,000-bale target—compared with an actual crop of under 10,000,000 last year—fears that price ceilings will check production.

OPS officials, on the other hand, claim that cotton men admit privately that anything over 38 cents will provide an adequate incentive. Certainly in California, which in the last decade has risen from eleventh to fourth place among the cotton-producing states, present prices have set off a wild boom. Irrigated land in the San Joaquin Valley which fetched $300 an acre last June is now commanding $500 and upward. Throughout the state, according to the *Wall Street Journal* of February 20, "the scramble to buy or lease cotton land is becoming semi-frantic," and planted acreage this year will probably be twice as large as last year.

No such expansion is likely in the Southeast, no matter how high the price goes, for there mixed farming is steadily displacing cotton. It is to the big producing states west of the Mississippi that we must look for the needed big crop, and probably they will provide it, given average luck with the weather. The question is: what price will they exact? It won't be a light one, and if cotton eludes controls, other farm products will follow. As one of DiSalle's aides said when he heard that the cotton Congressmen were marching on the White House, "This is the same fight that licked Chester Bowles."

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Koestler as Pedagogue

THE AGE OF LONGING. By Arthur Koestler. The Macmillan Company. $3.50.

IN 1940 the Western world looked aghast at the confessional performances of accused Communists in Moscow trials. They were utterly baffling phenomena, seeming to call for a conception of psychology for which nothing in the tradition either of reason or of the laboratory could account. Arthur Koestler's "Darkness at Noon" had the clarifying and invigorating effect of an artistic capture of the inexplicable. One may say now that part of its effect was merely that it was opportune, but still it does remain one of the rare moments of self-recognition for our age.

Another element in its effectiveness, assuredly, was that it was not a "novel," not something constructed on a "plot." It did what a good, let alone a great, book should do: it did not expound; it exemplified. "The Age of Longing" is a novel with a plot: an American girl in Paris, in a year that is vaguely 1955 or '56, has an affair with a Russion "cultural attaché," discovers that she hates his philosophy, tries to shoot him, and is shipped home. Meanwhile she encounters a punctiliously selected array of people, each neatly embodying a precise aspect of the present intellectual and spiritual predicament.

There is the worldly, aristocratic old cynic, the liberal intellectual disillusioned with Stalinism, the existentialist, the American colonel on a mission, the Pole tortured into madness, the Soviet poet who tries to escape and fails, the Catholic cleric, the French resistant who prepares for again resisting. And of course there is the lover—the Neanderthal man, the man of the future, the product of the Revolution, the Russian.

Upon the heroine, at long last, nothing is lost, and on the final pages she conveniently rounds up the dramatis personae in a stream-of-consciousness inventory, ticking them off so that nothing will be lost on us. She sums them up: all are "sick with longing." In the last paragraph the sirens are blowing: "it could have meant the Last Judgment, or just another air-raid exercise." This, in short, is recognizable as Eliot's "Waste Land"—reduced to pedagogical prose. The reason for the desolation must be made explicit: "For the place of God had become vacant, and there was a draft blowing through the world as in an empty flat before the new tenants have arrived."

The difficulty is that we have met all these characters repeatedly in recent fiction, and that here they are wooden and mechanical, the Russian being the least convincing if only because he is made up so exactly like M. Malik on the television. The stage-managing is so crude that the wires creak. The American speech between the girl and her father is ludicrous ("When you began to be seen going places with that guy Nikitin"). Sex, the indispensable element, is judiciously ladled out. The plot develops "suspense," as would be taught in correspondence courses: the girl pulls the trigger, she has forgotten the safety-catch; then she fires, the Russian falls, and we race through the next pages until the artful author tells us that she merely wounded her target. Everyone speaks in character, and no cue is lost.

In order to play her part the girl must be represented as of an inconceivable stupidity. When at last it has dawned upon her what the Russian is up to, she goes to the French authorities and explains her motive in terms which we are obliged to interpret as the motive of the book: "I only thought that if the facts were made public, it would open people's eyes. . . . I thought if people were to read it in black and white maybe it would shake them up."

What then nags at one's mind is how the author of "Darkness at Noon" can have come after eleven years to making out of the agony of our time a novel so conventional and often tedious. You are bound to perceive that he is intelligent, in fact so much so that he anticipates your mood: when the two veterans of the Resistance are about to go underground again, to hiding, hunger, and torture, one of them yawns and the other says, "The funny thing is that I too feel more bored than anything else." The liberal focuses all his wisdom into the motto that the only solution is to comprehend everything and to forgive oneself nothing. But for all Koestler's undoubted ability to comprehend the panorama of viewpoints represented by his characters, they all seem to be attitudes we find in every daily newspaper. The boredom of a man about to go into battle is not the same thing as boredom communicated to a reader.

Throughout the book the various characters come to a sort of hunch that in a not too distant future a new spiritual ferment will arise, "as spontaneous and irresistible as early Christianity or the Renaissance." If the best that Koestler can preach in his literal tract is faith in a faith not yet disclosed, perhaps this accounts for the artificiality. Perhaps he has no other choice but to spell out in black and white the facts—aiming at a larger and, by implication, a vastly more stupid audience than greeted "Darkness at Noon." I suspect that the book will reach some such audience; the sex and the plot ought to pay off. If the characters are unreal, there is much more play of ideas than in most novels of the year. Still—one cannot help feeling that a writer of Koestler's stature just simply *ought* to write a better book.

PERRY MILLER

Ingersoll, Folk Hero

THE LETTERS OF ROBERT G. INGERSOLL. With a Biographical Introduction by Eva Ingersoll Wakefield. Philosophical Library. $7.50.

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL did for the English language what Isocrates did for the Greek: he was the first among English-speaking orators to perfect the prose rhythms of our native speech." With that opinion, quoted from a one-time Justice of the Supreme Court, not many literary critics are likely to agree. But when the Justice goes on, "He was popular as an orator primarily because he felt the unity of his own mind . . . with the average mind of the

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average American community," he is probably right. Ingersoll was some kind of phenomenon of incalculable importance, and it is strange that a considerable body of his letters should have remained unpublished until now. Probably every age needs a Prince of Darkness who is obviously formidable, paradoxically identified with causes which the community recognizes as just, and the mouthpiece for blasphemies which the average citizen lacks the courage to utter for himself. Ingersoll filled the role and filled it in some ways better than, let us say, Tom Paine, Clarence Darrow, or H. L. Mencken did in their times. No wonder that he was a folk hero.

In this volume his granddaughter offers personal and business letters—most of them vigorous, straightforward, and unoratorical—with a fairly extended biographical sketch. Ingersoll was the son of a hell-fire preacher but revolted young. He taught school, studied law, attacked Christianity and slavery, fought in the Civil War, and then, for the rest of his life, combined the career of a crusader with a very lucrative law practice. To the masses he brought, in swelling, hypnotically rhythmic phrases, news of a world where splendor of thought and language went hand in hand with a bold defiance of the established gods. It was the Promethean fire in a form they could recognize. And whatever the defects of his style or the limitations of his thought, he was no mealy-mouthed mugwump. Of his father he could write, "He received the rudiments of ignorance at Middlebury College. After having received a certificate to the effect that he understood the mysteries of orthodoxy, and was able to show that the infinite love of God was perfectly consistent with the damnation of the whole human race, he started in search of employment." To an inquirer he replied, "I have many objections to the philosophy of Christ. I do not believe in returning good for evil. I believe in returning justice for evil. . . . Neither do I believe in decrying this world. . . . Christ is not my ideal."

Mark Twain said of him, "I hold him in as high honor as I have held any man living or dead." Georg Brandes wrote, "In Ingersoll common sense rose to genius." Why, then, has he been excluded from the canon? Is there any reason other than that literary style which contributed so much to his fame in his own day and which intrudes occasionally even into the letters, where, for example, a man who has recently died becomes inevitably one of "the dear ones 'who are no more,' who have fallen asleep"? An earlier biographer, setting out to prove that Ingersoll's gift was the same as that of "his immortal master," Shakespeare, gives the following specimens: "The withered leaves of time that strew the desert of the past"; moderation is "the golden path along that strip of verdure that lies between the deserts of extremes"; "the infantry of the snow and the cavalry of the wild blast." If this is what Isocrates did for the Greeks, then so much the worse for him and for them. But if any other reason for the general refusal to list Ingersoll among the major prophets is needed, it may be a less legitimate one. He seemed to ask for martyrdom but he never got it, and he was far too prosperous for a hero. He made a great deal of money himself, and after the fashion of his time but not of ours, he thought money-making something to be admired. He favored birth control, reasonable divorce laws, and free speech; he opposed prohibition and race prejudice. But he was also a "sound money" man, and he said, "Poverty is not a virtue, nor is wealth a crime." A corporation lawyer—and he was that among many other things—is not the stuff out of which heroes are commonly made today.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

"Yesterday's Enemy"

TIME OF FALLEN BLOSSOMS. By Allan S. Clifton. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

THE foreigner who goes to any Asian country with a thorough knowledge of its language and a sympathetic interest in its people is a creature so rare that almost any book written by him is worthy of serious attention. Allan S. Clifton is just such a foreigner, and certainly his book, "Time of Fallen Blossoms," must be considered not only a charming introduction to post-war Japan but a challenge to the conscience of any Westerner.

Mr. Clifton, an Australian journalist, started to study Japanese as a hobby. During the war this knowledge qualified him as an interpreter for the Australian Army Intelligence Corps, and eventually took him to Japan as a member of the Occupation. He was stationed in the Kure area with the Commonwealth forces, still in his capacity as a language expert. His book covers the year of his stay there, 1946.

"Time of Fallen Blossoms" is a sort of personal guidebook to the humanity of the Japanese during one rather extraordinary year in their history, a year which found them defeated, poor, preyed on by black-marketeers, with no assurances for their future, but still maintaining their individual grace and their cultural strength which had, at one time, made them a great nation. By describing his experiences and reactions to the people and their country from the time of his arrival until the time he regretfully watches the receding shoreline, Mr. Clifton leads his reader very gently into his own attitude of sympathy and concern for the Japanese. Woven through his story is some valuable information on the day-to-day manners and customs of the Japanese with a smattering of their history, all presented in a form attractive enough not to overweight the book.

With great delicacy and considerable insight he tells the stories of Japanese families that became his friends, he describes the surprising beauty of the Japanese countryside, he writes of the geishas, of Japanese meals, of journeys to different cities and temples. There is great charm in the telling of all these incidents and especially in the strangely touching accounts of the young Japanese women who fell in love with members of the Occupation forces. Most appealing of all for the sensitivity and restraint with which it is handled is the tragic story of the Japanese girl, Terumi, who marries Mr. Clifton's friend Harry.

But the serious core of "Time of Fallen Blossoms" is not one of charm and ease. It is the horrifying story of the behavior of foreign conquerors, and of the deep corruption that sets in when a handful of troops has an entire population at its mercy. Mr. Clifton writes only of the Australian troops, whose normal standards of conduct were apparently entirely forgotten when they found themselves in the position of dominant Occupiers. While I was in

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Japan certainly one heard of infinitely fewer abuses in the sectors controlled by other troops. However, "Time of Fallen Blossoms" remains the kind of book that the members of any victor nation should read, if for no other reason, at least to know that the Occupation was not all beer and skittles for the Japanese.

As part of his job as interpreter, Mr. Clifton had first-hand evidence that much of the Japanese war-time propaganda against the "hairy barbarians" was in peace time far from disproved. "In the last months of 1946," he writes, "crimes against the civil population had become so numerous that I was being called out almost every day and night by the Japanese police, so that I was becoming exhausted for lack of sleep." A little earlier he says, ". . . crimes against women were not the only offenses. Bashing of men and youths for the sheer joy of it, setting fire to brothels from pique at being refused entrance, which was forbidden, were others; but robbery, with and without violence, comprised the major number. It is an ugly sight to see a truckload of twenty or thirty of one's fellow-soldiers descend like ravening wolves on a row of market stalls, grabbing fistfuls of tawdry trifles, overturning counters, and punching anyone who looks as though he (or she) might resent it." One must commend the author's courage and fair-mindedness in presenting a side of the case that the West seldom hears.

Through such material comes perhaps the saddest lesson that Mr. Clifton has to teach—the far-reaching and deep misunderstandings engendered by propaganda and fostered prejudices of nation against nation. He arrived in Japan, exceptionally qualified certainly, but still with the hangover of antagonisms, suspicions, and withdrawals that most of us acquired—however liberal we liked to think ourselves—during the war. With many of the foreigners those prejudices remained even after they had lived in Japan. Mr. Clifton quotes a fellow-passenger on the boat which takes him back to Australia, a soldier who has been in the enemy country for a year and describes the Japanese as "those stinking, grinning bastards . . . I've had the whole rotten lot of them. Just animals!" (It might be well to remember that perhaps the bitterness and prejudice of the "other side" have not entirely died either.)

Mr. Clifton was one of the exceptions. He too had been subjected to "the accumulated influence of subtle war-time propaganda." But he had taken the trouble to go farther, and found the Japanese, like the ordinary people of any country when you approach them warmly, "industrious and alert, friendly and hospitable beyond measure to the stranger, and devoted to the welfare of their own family group. With all their practical talents went an artistic taste and a sense of the appropriate."

There are one or two minor points in Mr. Clifton's book with which I might quarrel. One instance is where he says that Japanese women, who had always been safe on their own streets after dark, had felt that with the arrival of the Occupation forces they would be safer still. My information was different. I learned that far from feeling safe, most of the Japanese women who could afford it had fled their towns and villages and gone into hiding in the mountains, and the ones that had to remain stayed behind locked doors as much as possible—they expected the very worst from the Allies. But such points do not destroy the value of the book, any more than its serious message detracts from the pleasure of sharing the author's discovery of the life of Japan and his delight in the people.

The Japanese have a very famous traditional saying, *"Sakujitsu no teki kyo no tomo"*—"Yesterday's enemy, today's friend"; certainly Mr. Clifton through "Time of Fallen Blossoms" has proved an outstanding example of its truth.

SANTHA RAMA RAU

More Poems by Dr. Williams

THE COLLECTED LATER POEMS of William Carlos Williams. New Directions. $3.

OF ALL the American writers who in the first half of the twentieth century have been known variously as "modern," "contemporary," "avant-garde," and the like, Dr. Williams has been the most prolific, the steadiest, the liveliest. He has never been a professional writer—either in the sense that some fortunate poets of other centuries have made a living from their work or in the sense that some poets of our own time have struggled to live by kindred chores, such as editing, anthologizing, lecturing, magazine writing. We know that he has been a physician all his life, a specialist in pediatrics, a distinguished worker in his field. It is conceivable that a human being has enough energy for two such difficult careers; it is almost inconceivable that he has enough time.

Dr. Williams has published fifteen books of poetry, a number of novels and plays, many short stories, several translations, an autobiography, a book of historical essays, and uncounted literary letters, reviews, prefaces, diatribes, panegyrics, jottings, and manifestoes. The publishers have scarcely been able to keep up with him. The present work is his third book of collected poems; yet the other two are out of print, and a newcomer to poetry could not buy all of Dr. Williams's poems.

For those who possess "The Complete Collected Poems, 1906-1938" (New Directions will reissue this work soon), the present volume will be an indispen-

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sable addition. It collects the poems published since 1939. It contains, in other words, the poems that Dr. Williams wishes to preserve from two books, "The Wedge" and "The Clouds," and from two pamphlets, "The Broken Span" and "The Pink Church." This means that one can own in two volumes all the poems Dr. Williams has written so far except "Paterson," the long poem of which we now have only the first three parts.

A few poems have been omitted from this collection. Such obvious mistakes as Ol' Bunk's Band, which kept turning up during the forties, have at last been scotched. But there is no question that some of Dr. Williams's most remarkable poems are found in this volume—The Pink Church, Two Pendants: for the Ears, To Ford Madox Ford in Heaven, and others. These are all specimens of great poetic bravery, and many of them are beautiful. To attempt a comparison here, in a short review, between Dr. Williams's later and earlier work would be foolish, and all that can be said is that these poems are now available in one book for those who want to have them.

HAYDEN CARRUTH

Next Week

W. H. Auden reviews Rolfe Humphries' translation of Virgil's "Aeneid."

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

WE ALL know, but it is easy to forget, that Ireland has a strict censorship which really works. And if you care to see an example of the sort of play that is acceptable in a country where Irish Catholic censorship is absolute, take a look at "The King of Friday's Men" (The Playhouse), which ran for six months at the Abbey Theater in Dublin.

It is set in 1787—under censorship the period piece is likely to be safe. It has a foolish and highly factitious love story, its hero is devoutly religious, and it is filled with violence. These elements, especially the third, usually fill the vacuum that is created when writers are forbidden to deal freely with realities, ancient or contemporary. And we needn't, of course, go to Ireland for illustrations of this little law of compensation; its workings may be observed in almost any film from Hollywood, where the "moral" pressures of the League of Decency, the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, and the Production Code are ever present. But it is instructive if not elevating to sample the dramatic fare to which we might be reduced if these pressures became decisive on Broadway.

The hero of the play is Bartley Dowd, a great shillelagh fighter who comes from Tyrawley to take part in a local clubbing contest in Galway; he is terribly disfigured by earlier brawls, and in this particular sequence he is battered and bloody by the third round—I mean act. In the course of the evening he lays six men low with his club and kills the brutish landlord. When he finds that he has saved his beloved for another man, he avers that it must be God's will and is sure that he will have his reward in heaven. There are fleeting moments of poetry and humor in this simple-minded affair, but it is chiefly a curiosity, a warning, and a bore.

I quite enjoyed "The High Ground." It is a mystery with a religious infusion, and the sophisticated young woman whose conviction for murder is finally upset is an artist. All very fashionable, as you can see. It has its share of astounding coincidence and faulty motivation, but it is rather well written, all the characterizations seemed to me unusually convincing—which made the rather slow pace less noticeable than it might have been—and it is very well acted, not only by the principals, Margaret Webster, Tom Helmore, and Leueen MacGrath, but by every other member of the cast.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

IT'S LIKE reading the score," Toscanini once exclaimed in delight after listening to a recorded performance expressing in this way his basic belief that a performance should realize in sound the musical work that is indicated by the notations and directions on the printed page. And another observation of his—that Mozart could be boring if the conductor didn't know what to do between the *p* in the first measure and the *f* eight measures later—made it clear that realizing in sound what was on the printed page was not just a matter of producing the *p* here and the *f* eight measures later, but a process of enlivening the eight measures in between with subtle inflection. Together

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the two statements define one type of performance, in which the performer's inflections of sonority and pace stay within the limits set by the composer's directions—whether the infrequent directions of Mozart or the frequent ones of Debussy—and fill out with precision the outlines which those directions indicate roughly.

That is the type of performance I prefer; but I am open to conviction by the type which does not defer to the composer's directions. I thought Webster Aitken's performance of Beethoven's Opus 111 three years ago very fine when I listened to it in Town Hall; a few weeks ago, listening to the broadcast of the performance from the Frick Collection with the music before me, I was aware of how much Aitken did that was different from what Beethoven directed—most obviously the changes of tempo in the succession of variations in the second movement, and even in the sections of the fourth variation; but except for a detail here and there the performance still made convincing and impressive sense for me as a statement of the work. It was in fact one of the high points of the two recitals, along with the performances of the slow movement and concluding movement of Opus 106, the last movement of Opus 109, the first and last movements of Opus 110. But it was impossible for me to accept what the first movement of Opus 101 became with all the fussing that Aitken did with it, or the last movement at a pace which made clear articulation of the music impossible; nor could I accept the first and second movements of Opus 109 and the second movement of Opus 110 as he rushed through them.

Moreover, I once wrote that although I felt the last movement of Schubert's Sonata Opus 78 to be relaxed and easy-going I could accept and enjoy it with the verve, the strength, and the humor Aitken put into it in accordance with his own feeling about it. But now it is impossible for me to accept what the Scherzo of the posthumous Sonata in B flat becomes when Aitken plays it with an iron-fingered lack of the delicacy, grace, and sensitiveness which the music itself would demand even without Schubert's directions of *pp* and *con delicatezza*. Nor is it possible for me to accept what the quietly meditative opening page of the first movement—with its implications of end-of-life illumination and resignation—and some other quiet passages are changed to by the emphatic pounding and distention of Aitken's playing of them. Nor can I accept what this treatment makes of the finale. But his realization of the slow movement is a superb achievement. The performance is well reproduced by the EMS record (112); but the surfaces of my copy are noisy.

A Westminister record (50-47) offers Schubert's beautiful Fantasy Opus 103 and three smaller pieces for piano four hands—the engaging Marche Caracteristique Opus 121 No. 1, and the Rondos Opus 107 and Opus 138 which are discursive but have lovely passages. They are played well by Paul Badura-Skoda and Joerg Demus, and the recorded sound is excellent; but one hears the noise of whatever records it was dubbed from.

On the other hand the Lili Kraus performances of Schubert's great Sonata Opus 143 and the Impromptus Opus 142 No. 3 and Opus 90 No. 2 dubbed from Parlophone 78's on a noisy Decca LP (8506) are something to skip.

Schumann's fine Sonata Opus 22 gets an excessively mannered performance by Kathleen Long on a London record (LLP-188) which offers also a flabby performance of the Novelette Opus 21 No. 2, a feverish performance of the Romanze Opus 28 No. 2, and the uninteresting Novelette Opus 21 No. 8. Surfaces are not quiet.

More engaging are Miss Long's fluent performances of a number of unfamiliar and charming Scarlatti Sonatas on a London record (LPS-314) which has a hum. But Soulima Stravinsky's performances of another group of these pieces on a noisy Allegro record (84) are mostly percussive and graceless.

A Columbia record (ML-4334) offers Beethoven's fine early Sonata Opus 26 played by Gieseking with his usual chiseled perfection in a delicate, sighing style that gives the music none of the strength it should have. Unsuitably coupled with it are Grieg's Lyric Pieces. The performances of Beethoven's Opus 111 and Andante favori by Jacob Lateiner on another Columbia record (ML-4335) are something to skip.

Books 1 and 2 of Debussy's "Images" are played by Arrau on still another Columbia record (ML-2162). Of the good pieces the best-played is "Reflets dan l'eau"—"Poissons d'or" and "Hommage à Rameau" suffering from too many pauses and too much rubato. The performances of the uninteresting pieces are accurate.

As for the uproar about Gina Bachauer, it turned out to be something like the uproar about Maryla Jonas. She began her second recital with a transcription of an orchestral work, the Vivaldi Concerto in D minor, which she used for a display of piano sonorities that murdered the piece. But these pianistic resources were unused in the performance of works for the piano—a Mozart Sonata, Beethoven's Opus 101, Chopin's Nocturne Opus 27 No. 1 and Polonaise Opus 53—which were meticulously precise in a minature scale and style.

CONTRIBUTORS

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Justice Denied

Dear Sirs: The Virginia State Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People acknowledges with deep appreciation the moral and financial support given to its efforts in the Martinsville case.

The N. A. A. C. P. entered the case when it appeared that these men were being electrocuted because of their race rather than because they were guilty of the crime of rape. The question of their guilt or innocence was not raised by us, for under the law a person is presumed to be innocent until proved guilty beyond all reasonable doubt after having had a fair trial. The N. A. A. C. P. has maintained that these men did not get a fair trial and that therefore the presumption of their innocence remains.

Practice, policy, and custom in Virginia and other Southern states give tacit approval to different and more severe punishments for Negroes charged with crimes against white persons. This dual system of justice is a continuation of the vicious pattern that first appeared in the slave codes. It must be abolished if the United States is to retain its leadership in world affairs.

MARTIN A. MARTIN
J. M. TINSLEY
OLIVER W. HILL
W. LESTER BANKS

Martinsville, Va., February 20

On Dr. Powdermaker's Book

Dear Sirs: The sour grapes which Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., foists off in *The Nation* of December 30 as a review of Dr. Hortense Powdermaker's book, "Hollywood, the Dream Factory," cannot go unchallenged. Neither the historian nor the economist has furnished the world any effective solutions of its problems. The anthropologist, at least, records the total picture, not chance fragments such as the historian works with.

Journals such as *The Nation* might better educate the public to a more scientific attitude of mind, so it can appreciate and utilize intelligently the valid findings of social scientists. What could be more phony, more portentous and utterly useless than a historian of the Gibbon type wasting foundation funds in our tension-torn world, which needs nothing more than sound knowledge of itself as it exists *now?*

As to the use of anthropological methods applicable to simpler societies to understand our more complex one, which Dr. Schlesinger decries, nothing is more valid. It has led to one of the few real advances in labor-management relations in this country. The anthropologist Warner found that the social system characteristic of the simplest Australian society existed in United States factories. Using these observations, firms such as Western Electric have made great strides in management of personnel. No historian could have established these principles without going into the factories with the anthropologist's methods.

To any and all who question the role of social scientists in our society, I would recommend a thoughtful and thorough reading of Stuart Chase's "The Proper Study of Mankind." And to those who are not occupational historians, I recommend Alexander Leighton's "Human Relations in a Changing World."

To *The Nation* I give a laurel wreath for recognizing the significance of anthropological literature sufficiently to review it. But I also include a few thorns for sending a book to a reviewer who is not qualified to pass on the merits of the writing in its field. It would have been better for a competent social scientist to evaluate Dr. Powdermaker's book than for a historian to use his review as an excuse to attack a whole field of science.

HENRY F. DOBYNS

Tucson, Ariz., January 30

Reviewer Replies

Dear Sirs: Mr. Dobyns was obviously too excited to look at what I actually said in the review of the Powdermaker book. I did not say that anthropology had no role in increasing our understanding of contemporary culture; obviously it has an important role. All I said was that Dr. Powdermaker's book, through its abuse of the anthropological method, did not increase our understanding of anything—except of the pretensions of certain anthropologists. It is perhaps worth noting that, for all his vast indignation, Mr. Dobyns does not venture to answer any of the specific criticisms I made of "Hollywood, the Dream Factory."

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

Cambridge, Mass., February 17

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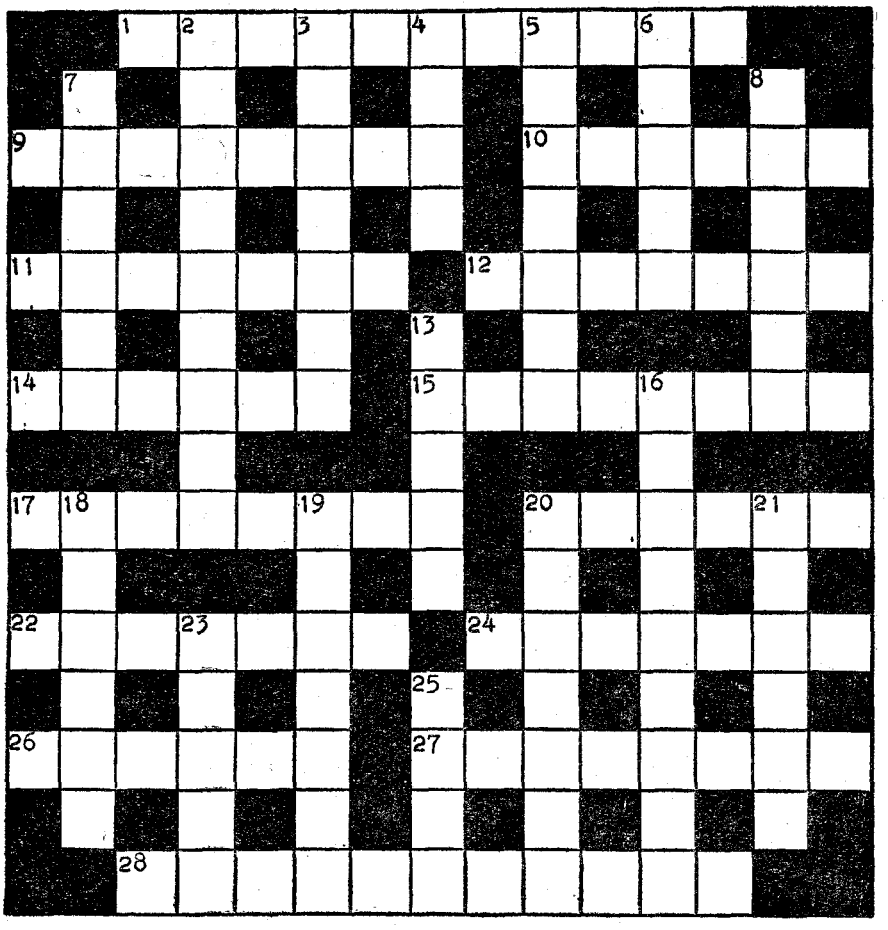
Crossword Puzzle No. 402

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Urban Sou'wester? (4, 7)
9, 21, and 23. Celestial gates are probably contained therein. (3, 5, 4, 2, 5)
10. Grain made the "Reapers." (6)
11 The place of the Blessed to which Minnehaha went. (7)
12 Red, white and blue bird. (7)
14 Made plum dry! (6)
15 Apparent individual, heard on high. (8)
17 Sweet shop? (Or what you get there!) (5, 3)
20 They might be sailors from Panama. (6)
22 There's a bit of the miscellaneous to everything! (7)
24 And everything comes back head first! (7)
26 Castor and Pollux. (6)
27 Emergency measure? (8)
28 The Secretary of Labor must have it. (7, 4)

DOWN

2 Buried in reading. (9)
3 Gave way, up, or in. (7)
4 Plenty of ground. (4)
5 Go back and forth to make a penalty less severe. (7)
6 Brilliant performance, even if the athlete's spike is broken. (5)
7 Search after spirits! (6)
8 George's mount? (6)
13 One of 4 is this for her who loves too well, according to Josephine. (5)
16 Where would you expect to find mountain men? On the mountain, of course! (9)
18 Biased lives. (6)
19 I follow a gong in with this operatic composer. (7)
20 Box hedge? (7)
21 and 23. See 9.
25 Doesn't work like a kind of wheel or pulley. (4)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 401

ACROSS:—1 NARRATIVES; 6 AQUA; 10 REFLECT; 11 STORAGE; 12 BALMORAL; 13 KITED; 15 and 7 LATIN QUARTER; 17 RACEHORSE; 19 and 21 BESIDE THE POINT; 23 and 24 TRIAL BY COMBAT; 27 AMPOULE; 28 NAUGHTY; 29 SIRE; 30 DENOUEMENT.

DOWN:—1 NARY; 2 REFRACT; 3 ABEAM; 4 INTERPRET; 5 EASEL; 8 AMENDMENTS; 9 WORKSHOP; 14 CLUB STEAKS; 16 NODULOUS; 18 CRESCENDO; 20 SLIPPER; 22 IVANHOE; 24 BEEBE; 25 MOUSE; 26 CYST.

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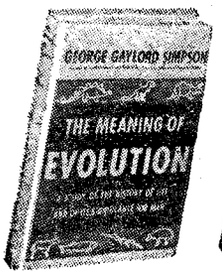

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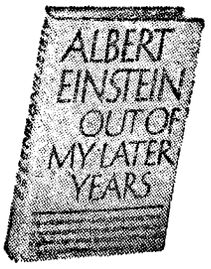

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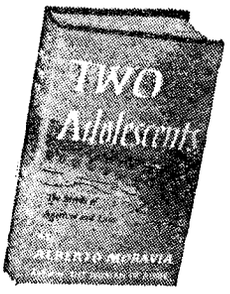

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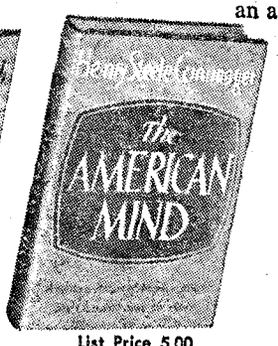

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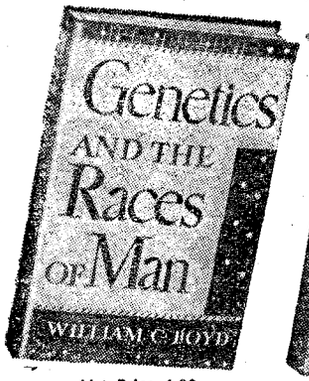

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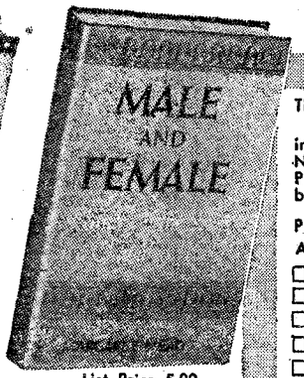

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